

"FROM EDUCATIONAL DEPRIVATION TO COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF REFORMIST AND
INTERVENTIONIST TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL
THINKING IN THE LAST 20 YEARS"

by

ANNETTE SHARLAND

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the needs of children whose educational progress and life chances are impeded by environmental handicaps such as poverty, membership of a minority group or a home background offering little emotional stability or cultural stimulation. The task in this paper is to explore the role which education can play, recognising also that education alone cannot redress this balance.

In this introductory chapter I want to outline the background from which the concept of cultural deprivation and compensatory education arose. How in fact the failure of reforms to abolish educational inequality led to 'positive discrimination' and compensatory measures designed to improve education for 'deprived' children from pre-school to secondary level; and in a number of areas (in Britain) Community Development Programmes, which include among their aims help for the 'deprived' communities - have been developed.

The central theme of educational discussion this century has been to find a 'strategy for educational roads to equality'. The idea of education as the agent of social change has also been well discussed.

The ideology of 'equality of opportunity' has guided much social and educational planning and in recent years the educational system has been at the centre of

policy development:

- as a means of economic growth and efficiency (e.g. 1944 Education Act)
- as a way to greater equality of opportunity and social justice (e.g. comprehensive secondary education)
- as a panacea for a whole range of social problems that have been labelled educational and turned over to the schools to solve (e.g. compensatory community education)

In the past it was argued (successfully) that investment would bring long-term change. The idea that education represents a personal investment with a return in higher income and status is long-established. However, the idea that educational expenditure on a national level represented an investment in terms of future economic growth, belongs to the late 1950s and 60s. Attempts were made then to quantify the educational contribution to economic growth. Its impact was most marked in underdeveloped countries where it provided arguments for the expansion of the educational system to parallel those of developed countries and its failure was dramatic in this context as the expansion of education was paralleled by a rise in the number of educated unemployed and a drift from rural to urban areas. In developed countries also a growing proportion of government expenditure was devoted to education. The debates surrounding the expansion of higher education at the time of the Robbins Report (1963) resulted

from the belief that Britain's poor economic performance was to be explained partly by the small size of higher education. Educational growth was the key to economic development.

A parallel development was the concern for equality of educational opportunity, strengthened by the growing research evidence in the gap between children from different social backgrounds; specifically that children from working-class homes were far less likely to reach through to the higher and more selective levels of the educational system. This concern with equality of opportunity was egalitarian but also bound up with the question of efficiency. A strong argument in favour of change was the untapped human resources that could be identified and developed.

By the 1960s it was clear that expansion of education by itself was not significantly reducing the gap. The next stage was to argue that resources should be differentially applied in the form of 'positive discrimination' where more resources would go to those most in need. In the words of the Plowden Report (1967) - the first to articulate this policy clearly in education -

The first step must be to raise the schools with low standards to the national average; the second quite deliberately to make them better.

Again the assumption was that educational expenditure would make the difference, this time in reducing social

inequality.

Similar thinking lay behind the American 'war on poverty' and the series of educational innovations to raise educational standards in poor areas. Coleman (1969) whose report - like the research carried out for Plowden - emphasised the importance of the family background, neighbourhood and peer group factors in explaining the difference in educational achievement by various social groups, underlined the significant shift in the meaning given to equality of educational opportunity; it was no longer 'equality of access' to educational resources - but 'equality in those elements that are effective for learning'. In ideal terms equality of educational opportunity would imply a convergence in the average outcomes for different social groups even though they began from different starting points. Complete convergence would be unlikely to occur because of the continuing influence of other factors. What was important was 'the intensity of the school's influence relative to external divergent influences'. Again the schools are set a formidable task on the assumption that, by equalising outcomes, wider opportunities for equality would follow.

Educational expansion was advocated and, with public pressure and demand for education, results were seen in the growing proportion of expenditure on education. The

growth of education in comparison to that of housing over the period 1951-1974 is indicative of the substantial shifts in policy and expenditure.

TABLE

Percentage of Total Government Expenditure on Education and Housing 1951-1974

	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>
Education	6.8	9.8	12.4	13.0	12.0	11.7
Housing	6.9	5.4	5.1	5.3	7.0	9.5

(Holtermann, 1975)

During the 1950s and 1960s, education was seen clearly as one of the main vehicles of social progress by government and citizens alike. However, after 1972 there was the beginning of a decrease in the proportion of expenditure on education. 1972 also was the year of publication of the white paper "A Framework for Expansion" and, in 1973, Jencks' book Inequality. Optimism by then about the effectiveness of the educational system as a route to economic growth, efficiency or social equality was in sharp decline. There were even doubts about its effectiveness in securing its primary objective. As Halsey (1972) pointed out:

Liberal policies failed basically on an inadequate theory of learning. They failed to notice that the major determinants of educational attainment were not schoolmasters, but social situations, not curriculum but motivation, not formal access to the school but support in the family and community.

An important point to underline here is that this sudden pessimism was based on little new evidence. The data on the effects on attainment of factors outside the school, that a few years earlier had been used to argue for extending the boundaries of education with improved home/school links, parental involvement and home visiting, were now used to demonstrate the powerlessness of education. There was accumulating evidence about the limited results of experiments to raise educational standards particularly in poor areas and clearly investment in education had not produced sustained economic growth. What happened was a further shift in objectives - from equality of opportunity to a concern with equality as such. Jencks, for example, is concerned with income inequality, and presents a well argued case that the best means to this end is to work at policies of income equalisation directly, not hope for indirect effects through education.

Jencks' study Inequality has been very influential. He uses many of the same research findings as those who had earlier pushed education as the agent of social and economic change but draws opposite conclusions. The relationship he argues between education and these other variables is far more tenuous than we have been led to believe by those enthusiastic for educational expansion. In Jencks' phrase he has drawn attention to the 'half-empty glass' while others have pointed to it being

'half-full'. His conclusions for education are pessimistic.

Adequate school funding cannot then be justified on the grounds that it makes life better in the hereafter. But it can be justified on the grounds that it makes life better right now and this suggests that students' and teachers' claims on the public purse are no more legitimate than the claims of highway users who want to get home a few minutes faster, manufacturers of supersonic aircraft who want to help their shareholders pay for Caribbean vacations, or medical researchers who hope to extend a man's life expectancy by another year or two. But neither are the schools' claims any less legitimate than the claims of other groups.

It is clear that there was an important change in the climate of opinion - the old optimism about expansion was gone. It could only be recovered by developing positive arguments about priorities and assembling evidence that educational resources can make an effective impact.

In the next chapter, in the context of this background, I intend to discuss how the concept of cultural deprivation developed. As I said earlier, the ideology of 'equality of opportunity' has influenced much educational planning in recent years. Advocates of compensatory education argued that this philosophy cannot offer true equality to children who commence school already at a disadvantage compared with their peers. It merely provided them with the 'opportunity to demonstrate their inequality'. Research in the 50s and 60s led to a reappraisal of the relationship between cultural deprivation, the process of schooling and inequalities in

education.

It is undisputed that working-class children, particularly those from unskilled working-class or minority ethnic groups, tend to have lower school achievement than middle-class children. Social class differences in attainment are already obvious at the infant school stage. According to the National Child Development Study of a sample of children in England, Scotland and Wales (Davie et al., 1972) the chances of a seven year old being a poor reader were found to be six times greater if he came from an unskilled working-class background rather than a middle-class professional background. Douglas (1964) (et al., 1968) showed in his study, using a nationally representative sample, that there were considerable differences in school achievement between children from non-manual and working-class backgrounds. Studies in the U.S. had similar findings. While it is accepted that these children tend to have relatively poorer school achievements, the explanation for such findings is a subject of disagreement.

Bloom et al. (1965) and Hunt (1964) held the viewpoint that low school achievement of poor children can be attributed to deficits in their cognitive, linguistic and motivational skills. These are determined in the main by the child's early environmental experiences. Lack of experiences - associated with poverty in our society -

were indicative of cultural deprivation. Such experiences lacking were the number and variety of objects and places with which an infant is in contact, and the amount and quality of verbal interaction with adults. Some of the first compensatory programmes were based on providing experiences like these.

Jensen (1969) and Eysenck (1971) claimed that it was genetic rather than environmental factors which were the main cause of the cognitive deficits of the unskilled, working-class or black child. They did concede, however, that school achievements are affected by non-cognitive factors, such as motivation and values as well as intelligence and that those are largely determined by environmental influences.

Baratz (1969), Ginsburg (1972) and Labov (1970) argued, however, that unskilled minority-group children do not suffer any cognitive or linguistic deficits. Any society provides experiences sufficient for normal cognitive and linguistic development. They held the view that ethnic minority and lower-class children come from culturally different (not deficient) backgrounds, compared with middle-class children. I.Q. testing is difficult because of lack of motivation and culture bias of the tests, and reading difficulties become accentuated by linguistic differences and dialects. It is not compensating education that is necessary but a change in the school environment to adapt to ways of thinking, and

language needs of poor children.

Early compensatory education singled out children's communication abilities as the key to their apparent inability to benefit from the educational experiences offered by the school. This linguistic and cultural deprivation notion implied that inadequacies in their home experiences were responsible for lack of cognitive development. Attributing educational failure to home background avoids the most important element in the process - the school itself. Bernstein (1970) criticises the concept of compensatory education as it distracts attention from the deficiencies in the school and brings focus upon deficiencies of the community, family and child.

Increasingly in recent years it is suggested that many so-called 'deficiencies' are more correctly to be entitled 'differences'. Nowhere is this more important than in the field of language as one of the basic assumptions of much compensatory education was that disadvantaged children were linguistically deprived. If it is accepted that schools have a clear responsibility for equipping all their children to meet (and if need be modify) the needs of mainstream society, then a major concern must be to understand and respect a variety of cultural backgrounds.

Compensatory education and programmes of positive discrimination developed during the 1960s and early 70s,

initially in the U.S.A. and then in Britain, in order to help children - through educational measures - to solve or alleviate the educational and social problems they faced. In Chapter 3 I describe some of the early programmes undertaken in the States and lead on to recent developments in Scotland.

Much attention has been given to the compensatory role of early childhood education. The results are difficult to interpret. In general, researchers have not been able to show that attendance at a pre-school establishment or even exposure to a special programme has substantial long-term effects. Clough (in Chazan, 1978) found:

1. that children who make the largest gains from an experimental programme are those with the lowest levels of entering behaviour, and
2. that the use of a structured programme is useful in increasing teacher/child interaction.

The findings of the Birmingham EPA team (Widlake, 1973) suggest that we cannot expect to find some formula for a language development programme. Any intensive programme which entails a high level of verbal interaction between adults and children is likely to have the effect of improving the children's language even if it was not designed for that purpose.

In practice, the findings of research do not point absolutely to special programmes having potential as a

miraculous panacea for social or educational inequalities. Social class differences in verbal ability, apparent before programmes are introduced, persist until children are retested when they leave the nursery. Similar results were repeated in U.S.A. evaluations and if anything it was concluded that the more advantaged children gain most from a special programme. In any programme (being evaluated), however, it is the skill of the teacher in using it and adapting it to individual children that is also being evaluated. The conclusion should not be that the special programme has failed to serve the children for whom it was intended. Rather, there is a need to examine more closely alternative strategies which might produce even greater improvements in performance and discover optimal circumstances in which they might be introduced.

The teachers' methods, selection processes and the standards applied to judge progress of pupils in the educational system, are an integral part of social process which produces some children who are confident, motivated, articulate, keen and able to learn, and others who are discouraged, apathetic, inarticulate and who seem unable or unwilling to take advantage of instructional and learning experiences. This implies that children's experiences at home lead them to acquire certain ways of expressing themselves, preferences for certain styles of thinking, talking and behaving. Can the school take

advantage of a child's potential and start with the variety of competencies which children possess as a result of the cultural experiences at home? It is necessary for the school to broaden its educational aims, recognise and encourage diversity, rather than channel children towards a uniform development and acknowledge that different styles of teaching and ways of learning may be acceptable for different children.

Consideration as to the appropriateness of the curriculum and methods and, of course, staff attitude is also important. The discovery that the attitudes of a teacher to an educational method are crucial to its success is shown clearly by research of Lunn (1970); and teachers' attitudes or expectations of pupil have been demonstrated by Pidgeon (1970) and Nash (1973).

Committed teachers usually have a positive expectation that they will succeed and this in itself goes a long way to ensure the success of the method. Teacher expectation as to the soundness of their instruction and the child's capacity to respond is central to the educative process. Teacher's expectation of a pupil's performance may serve as an educationally self-fulfilling prophecy. Does the teacher get less from the deprived child because he expects less? Goodacre (1968) showed that infant teachers in lower social class areas think of their children as intellectually and socially homogeneous.

As a result they may appear to underestimate the potential of their pupils.

The traditional form for 'positive discrimination' in deprived schools is to lower the pupil/teacher ratio. But is this enough? Is there a policy within any authority to select the right people? There are schools, even in some of the most disadvantaged areas of the country, who succeed in teaching children who appear engulfed in problems. A search must continue to find what mix of personality, skill, curriculum and care contributes to this success; for in spite of all increases in resources and facilities made available to children, their learning still depends on their being able to form a relationship with an individual teacher, on experiencing his care, on receiving the understanding, support and skill of that teacher. Priorities then should go to ensuring that the teacher has the support for this task; for it is the time, energy and commitment of the teacher that constitute the greatest resource available. It is through the curriculum and a teacher's sympathetic attitude that education can be more beneficial and meaningful to many children in these schools.

The relative lack of success of compensatory programmes based predominantly on the school led to a greater emphasis on intervention focussing on the home and parental involvement and the development of community education. In Chapter 4 the idea of the community school

is discussed with its implications for community regeneration. The designation of educational priority areas, with the central focus being the community school, has become accepted and established both by researchers and teachers as being the main answer in this country to the problems posed by education in the inner city. The Plowden conception of positive discrimination, as applied to education in the city, can be interpreted in terms of what Midwinter and others see as an alternative, and more positive response, the concept of community education.

In the concluding chapter I will briefly review the educational innovations that took place in the 1960s and 70s, and give consideration to some implications for the future.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONCEPT OF DEPRIVATION

During the past 20 years much research and thought has been given to the concept of deprivation and its relationship to education. Poverty has been a social concern for many years, but it was not until the 1950s that the effects of children's social and economic circumstances were linked to their educational progress. The various terms and labels, cultural deprivation, social deprivation, linguistic deprivation and cultural, social, linguistic disadvantage have been applied to certain groups of children who were not performing in school as well as their measured potential ability indicated. The notion of compensatory education arose from this context as a part solution for educational failure.

LANGUAGE USAGE

An examination of the terminology which is used to express the problem might lead to some clarification. It is worthwhile drawing attention to the manner in which the topic is formulated. On the one hand, the problem may be described as cultural, social or linguistic deprivation, whilst on the other, as cultural, social or linguistic disadvantage. The terminology therefore reveals two basic categories:

1. the problem category - deprivation and disadvantage.
2. the adjectival category - cultural, social, linguistic.

The terms in category 1 have significance for:

- (a) how the problem is to be seen and
- (b) how we might train or equip future teachers.

The terms deprivation and disadvantage have a point of resemblance in that they are implicitly valuative and normative. To be deprived or disadvantaged is not descriptive but a subtle value standpoint. We may ask "deprived of what" and "disadvantaged in what way" and possible answers may vary depending upon the value standpoint in question. Does an educator make these judgements that something of value is lacking as an educator or as a member of a particular social class or status group?

Are the children deprived of a meaningful perspective on life through lack of knowledge and skill, of suitable housing and environment or of equality of opportunity as a social principle? There are general usage differences with the terms deprivation and disadvantage. We can be deprived of many things - food, love, money, education and so on. But, while a person is deprived of, he would be disadvantaged in a situation, which might be a game or a social position. So, whereas 'deprivation' may seem to lead on to questions about deficit or what is lacking in the person, 'disadvantage' appears to pose problems relating to social situations or

experiences where differences are weighted. This distinction raises separate sets of questions, and if we add the adjectives social, cultural and linguistic, the problem becomes more apparent.

Social deprivation can be seen as deprived of (certain things that society might have to offer) while social disadvantage can be seen as occupying an unfavourable position (in a society or social strata). Earlier it was expressed that to use a term such as 'deprivation' is to make a value judgement about something that ought not to be lacking. Therefore we need to be clear both what our value judgements are and to distinguish between whether particulars are lacking or whether the situation is wrong. Obviously many questions arise.

Is the linguistic position a matter of deprivation or disadvantage? Bernstein (1971) advances theories that claim to lay bare critical relationships between class, language and educability. The terms 'restricted' and 'elaborated' codes have entered the folk-lore of many classroom teachers. Unfortunately, too often the terms are used as labels describing the children's language, rather than as a starting point for language development. An interesting feature of the almost unanimous acceptance of his thesis is that both right and left in education and politics have seen in these ideas support for their views. Thus, Bantock (1965) on the

right justifies separate education for working-class children and cites Bernstein in support, and Jackson (1968) on the left also accepts Bernstein's main thesis.

Does the 'restricted code' use in fact deprive or put at a disadvantage? It might be seen to deprive the user of a richness and variety of thought and ideas or it could be seen alternatively to put him in a disadvantaged situation (in relation to class structure, for example). The Bernstein theory states that there is a fundamental qualitative difference between working-class speech and middle-class speech; and that this is not a matter of underlying grammar, dialect or slang, but rather of the different use of the grammatical system and vocabulary. The two classes can be said to be using different codes because there are differences in the principles which underlie the particular choices they make in speech.

Children acquire different kinds of cultural identity and different responses to that identity. The class basis of these differences lies in differences in the main socialising agencies, the relationships to family, peer group, school and work. In practice, Bernstein focuses his attention on the family, since it is seen as the microcosm of the operation of class.

It is perhaps apposite to mention the word 'problem' - in itself, normative. 'Problem' generally means a question calling for a practical solution and not only

establishing what is the case, which would be a problem in a theoretical sense. Concern in this paper is with the deprivation/education problem. It is fair to ask who defines the problem - the educator (education seen as self-evidently valuable) or the social reformer. Solutions could be vastly different.

In this analysis I hope to have shown that the terms used beg further questions and that it is insufficient to employ them without being aware of how they function as linguistic tools. The deprivation/education problem is not just the fact about substandard houses, low income etc. Neither deprivation nor disadvantage statements are merely about situations. They depend upon a value position which needs to be spelled out by those employing the terms. There is a danger in using these words as if they convey information. The contention is that they are uninformative and that the interesting questions to ask are "what" - in relation to deprived of - and "how" - in relation to disadvantaged - which compels giving quite specific answers.

CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

The most frequent usage of the term 'cultural deprivation' has been as an explanation of failure at school among children of various social classes or ethnic groups.

Much educational research since 1950 has attempted to explain why children from poorer groups in society do less well at school than measured intelligence indicated. In psychological terms, the child was seen to have measurable attributes such as an I.Q. and so emphasis was put on creating objective measures of ability rather than looking too deeply at the educational situation or interactional contacts of the teacher and pupil.

Reissman's book The Culturally Deprived Child (1962) was one of the first publications to attract widespread attention to the notion of cultural deprivation. He claimed that in 1950 one child in ten in 14 of the largest cities of the United States was culturally deprived and that the figure had risen by 1960 to one in three. One of the most pressing problems facing the urban school at this time was the culturally deprived child. He gives a full explanation of his use of the term "culturally deprived":

While lower socio-economic groups lack many of the advantages (and disadvantages) of middle class culture, we do not think it is appropriate to describe them as "culturally deprived". As we shall see, they possess a culture of their own with many positive characteristics that have developed out of coping with a difficult environment. The term, culturally deprived, refers to those aspects of middle-class culture - such as education books, formal language - from which these groups have not benefited. Because it is the term in current usage, however, we will use "culturally deprived" interchangeably with "educationally deprived" to refer to the members of lower socio-economic groups who have had limited access to education.

References had been made earlier in New York by the Bureau of Educational Research to deprivation in terms of homes and emotions of some children. The President, a psychologist with the Bureau (1955, at an annual meeting of the American Psychological Association) reported that an attitude syndrome of "cultural deprivation" could be identified based on environmental handicaps which consequently affected a child's progress both in school and before school. The concept of culturally deprived was applied in this case to children who were not doing well in school and who came from families of low economic and social status. Culturally deprived children exist in any group set apart by its low income and/or minority cultural variation of religion, race or language. These children invariably would be living in slums, overcrowded poor areas or even some rural areas. Educational research in cultural deprivation increased in the 1960s and focus continued to be on the child and his home environment rather than the educational situation. Brooks (1966) gives a fairly typical picture of the culturally deprived child as it was emerging in the 60s:

He is essentially the child who has been isolated from those rich experiences that should be his. This isolation may be brought about by poverty, by meagreness of intellectual resources in his home and surroundings by the incapacity, illiteracy or indifference of his elders or of the entire community.

The fault lying within the child and his home was reiterated by the McCone Commission (1965) to explain low achievement of children in deprived areas and proposed

extensive pre-school education as an antidote.

Children in disadvantaged areas are often deprived in their pre-school years of the necessary foundations for learning. They have not had the full range of experiences so necessary for the development of language in the pre-school years and hence they are poorly prepared to learn when they enter school. Their behaviour, their vocabulary, their verbal abilities, their experience with ideas, their view of adults, of society, of books, of learning, of schools and of teachers are such as to have a negative impact on their school experience. Thus the disadvantaged child enters school with a serious educational handicap and because he gets a poor start in school he drops further behind as he continues through the grades. His course towards academic failure is already set before he enters school, it is rooted in his earliest childhood experiences. The Commission concludes that this is the basic reason for low achievement in the disadvantaged areas.

We can summarise the foregoing points by stating the countless reasons, such as lack of education in the home, few books, lack of language, lack of motivation, poor health, food and housing - which came forward to explain why these deprived children performed poorly in school. In the main, emphasis was on the home environment, parents, and the child's lack as the central determinants of failure. Still, little attention was given to what happened in the school itself.

Hunt's book Intelligence and Experience (1961) brought together evidence showing that intelligence was not fixed, but depended heavily on one's early encounters with the environment. Hunt, supported by Piaget's developmental theories, was influential in emphasising

the importance of variety of stimuli in the child's environment. A child who has been deprived of a substantial portion of 'normal' stimuli in his early years is likely to be deficient in his learning capabilities at school age. Hunt (1964) emphasised the importance of pre-verbal experience to later cognitive development:

.... cultural deprivation may be seen as a failure to provide an opportunity for infants and young children to have the experience required for adequate development of those semi-autonomous central processes demanded for acquiring skill in the use of linguistic and mathematical symbols and for the analysis of causal relationships.

Inadequate preparation for school, then, whether it be inappropriate experience or deprivation of experience, was another cause of failing children in the schools. Psychologists working on these theories at this time emphasised the pre-school years (three to four years) as the most effective stage to deal with the inadequate experiences of the culturally deprived child. If intellectual ability could be increased by circumstances then it was essential to give poor children enriched opportunities early in life.

What are the implications of these viewpoints? One question inevitably arose as to the meaning of culture. Of what culture were these children being deprived? Stenhouse (1967) gives a viewpoint of culture as a matter of ideas, thoughts and feelings.

Culture is a kind of mental common denominator, a shared store of complex understandings,

achieved between mind and mind. It comprises the ideas generally accepted within any group. To say that a person is at home in a Hindu culture or a British middle-class culture or a scientific culture is to say that he shares many ideas with other Hindus or middle-class British or scientists.

Obviously from a definition of culture such as this, all children of whatever social standing possess a culture of their own. Every child learns his culture; if he happens to belong to a subculture then this is what he learns and experiences. But the subculture of any small group must be seen in the context of the total culture of a society or civilisation. Although his experiences are many and varied, they are not necessarily the experiences that formal education recognises or desires and it is this recognition of which the child is deprived. Some children do have experiences which arise from a very real culture though they may be of quite a different order from those respected and valued by the mainstream society and educational system. Because these early experiences are different when they come into contact with the mainstream culture as in education, then problems will ensue. Or, put another way, these children are unable to participate fully in that cultural heritage which the school transmits and so are deprived of part of their cultural heritage.

Their culture is not in accordance with mainstream culture of society at large. Culturally deprived

children come from homes where these mainstream values of society are lacking and the children's failure to acquire these values lies in their lack of educability. So again the contention is repeated that failure in the school is located in the home and pre-school environment and not in the nature and organisation of the school. Too often the label, culturally deprived, was used as a cover-up for the educational ineffectiveness of the teachers and schools and focus was brought to bear on alleged failings of minority groups rather than the shortcomings of the dominant society. Fantini and Weinstein (1968) maintain we have to change the process and not the product, i.e. we must modify the education system to meet the needs of the children rather than encourage the child to adapt to the existing process.

Social class and environment are now seen to be extremely crude as measures of educational success. Ferguson and Williams (1969) and the Robbins Report (1964) have shown that the majority of children in classes IV and V cannot be regarded as educationally disadvantaged and that there is considerable educational underfunctioning in other classes. Barnes (1975) concluded likewise.

To recapitulate on the argument so far. There are children failing in the educational system. In the 1950/60s certain groups of children were described as being culturally deprived - and later socially disadvantaged - and this description came forward as an

explanation as to why they were failing. They had a 'restricted' use of language, a 'different' culture ('different' being inferior), inadequate home background, lack of stimulation and a poor environment. In the remainder of this chapter we will look at the notion of linguistic deprivation and how this contributes to school learning.

LINGUISTIC DEPRIVATION

Hess and Shipman (1965) might have reached the heart of the problem in concluding that the meaning of deprivation is "the deprivation of meaning" - that is, that the central ingredient of educational disadvantage is the lack of cognitive meaning in the mother/child communication system. This leads us into the notion of linguistic deprivation. Considerable attention has been given to the concept of linguistic deprivation. Children from deprived areas are said to receive little verbal stimulation or interaction or to hear well formed language and, as a result, are lacking means of verbal expression. The language differences of the disadvantaged have a limiting effect in the classroom interaction and rapport between teacher and child.

Bruner (1975) described the problem as a deficiency in "analytical competence"; that is, the disadvantaged child is able to acquire language like any other child but he experiences difficulty in the use of language as a

tool of thought. Thus, Bruner's view of the child's deficiency in ability to manipulate explicit propositions is similar to Bernstein's 'elaborated code'. All children have access to 'restricted' or 'elaborated' codes but early socialisation leads some to make more use of the former and less of the latter. Bereiter and Engemann (1966) support the evidence that culturally deprived children do possess all the necessary elements of English grammar and syntax:

What is crucial, however, is not the extent to which their language is technically capable of conveying thoughts and information but the extent to which the children themselves are able to use the language in this way.

School is concerned with the transmission of 'universalistic meanings' (which stem from an elaborated code) and so Bernstein argues that the disadvantaged child is less at home with school learning in the academic sense and with the school ethos generally since it places such high value on universalistic styles of meaning. This kind of description of the problem is also supported by the work of Vygotsky (1962), Blank and Soloman (1968) and Tough (1973) and others. The obvious implication is that remedial intervention should focus on the parent/child communication system and this view has empirical backing from the comprehensive reviews of the longitudinal effects of pre-school intervention programmes by Bronfenbrenner (1974), and Hunt (1975), both of whom concluded that the only programmes producing lasting gains

were those substantially involved with parents.

The concept of language deprivation has also been the subject of criticism by Labov (1970). He criticises the so-called "controlled" experiments in which the only thing which is controlled is the superficial form of the stimulus. For example, a child is presented with an object or picture and asked "Tell me everything you can about this" by a stranger. He might, according to Labov, view this as a request for information, a command for action, a threat of punishment, or a meaningless sequence of words. The crucial variables of motivation and interpretation are uncontrolled. Labov believes that we can best understand the verbal capacities of children by looking at them within the cultural context in which they were developed.

Those who criticise Labov's view do agree that performance in such a situation may give poor indication of cognitive ability but Cole and Bruner (1971) point out that this does not mean the range and nature of situations in which an individual can perform is irrelevant. They consider the problem is in identifying skills readily observable and then finding out whether the range is adequate to the child's needs in various cultural settings. Cultural difference becomes cultural deprivation when an individual is faced with demands to perform in a manner inconsistent with his past experiences.

The disadvantage the children suffer then, need not be described as linguistic deprivation. How the characteristics of these children's language affect their education is to a great extent due to other variables such as teacher/child interaction and the school's traditional interpretation of correct and proper language. All children acquire basic communicative competence in their mother tongue. They are culturally deprived in the sense that the culture they assimilate in their early childhood is not the same as the culture they are expected to operate within at school.

In conclusion we can see the dominant interpretation of failure has placed the emphasis on the inadequacies of a child's difficulties at school. His failure to match up to recognised criteria of attainment lies in the deficiencies of his early home educational experiences. The obvious way to improve the child's performance then, is to introduce an early educational programme which will compensate for these deficiencies. The term 'compensatory education' was applied to the educational programmes strategies and techniques which grew up in the early 1960s. The aims of compensatory education were to make up for those environmental deficits in society and school which limit educational progress and to find remedies for these children identified as culturally and linguistically deprived.

In the following chapter some of the early attempts at compensatory education in the U.S.A. and Britain are described and a closer look taken at three more recent studies in Scotland today.

CHAPTER 3

EDUCATIONAL RESPONSES TO DEPRIVATION
IN THE U.S.A. AND BRITAIN

The educational response to deprivation in the U.S.A. and in Britain was entitled compensatory education. The term was first used in the mid-1960s to describe the various educational and social measures aimed at alleviating the problems faced by some children during their schooling. As the aims and purposes of compensatory education vary from country to country according to the problems faced by some children, definition of compensatory education is difficult. Its complex nature can be illustrated by reference to the aims and scope of some of the projects carried out in the U.S.A. and Britain.

UNITED STATES

In the United States compensatory education became urgent in the early 1960s due to a combination of factors, including the increasing value being placed by society on educational achievement, the wastage of talent arising from the inability of numerous children to take advantage of educational opportunity and a growing dissatisfaction with the school system.

In the U.S.A. four main strategies were followed in initial attempts to make school more meaningful and curriculum more relevant for children:

1. a redistribution of pupils - various bussing programmes.
2. an increase in pre-school and primary provision.
3. the creation of more home-school links.
4. a changing of all aspects of the environment.

'BUSSING'

Firstly, there was an endeavour to redistribute pupils by various means in order to reduce the concentration of deprived children within particular schools. School integration programmes seek in the main to minimise social and racial inequalities. In some cases attempts at this have resulted in altering catchment areas or the sizes of schools. More often, however, the experiments in bussing black children from inner city schools to white suburbs or occasionally the reverse have been tried. Evaluation of bussing has been difficult owing to non-random assignments to bussed and non-bussed groups and to differences between the schools in factors other than racial composition.

Longitudinal studies using a control group with before and after measures are reported by St John (1970) and Armor (1972) who, although claiming changes slightly for better rather than worse, conclude that no positive consistent effect has been noted on academic achievement, educational or occupation aspirations, academic self-concept or self-esteem or even on race relations. Evidence indicated that bussing increases racial identity

and solidarity, as shown by support for such organisations as the Black Panthers.

Although bussing may bring young black children into contact with better schooling and a more academic group of children, it also tends to mean a loss in status among peers and a lowering of relative academic position.

'HEADSTART'

Secondly, attempts were made to improve educational programmes at the pre-school and primary levels.

"Project Headstart", developed and supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity, was a massive broadly based government programme concerned with provision of appropriate educational experience at the pre-school level. It was initiated in 1965, designed as an eight-week summer course and later extended to a year-long programme. The aims and objectives of this project were very broad and far too ambitious to be specific enough for precise evaluation. Aims included:

1. to improve children's educational performance.
2. to provide a comprehensive system of medical and dental care.
3. to eliminate undernourishment.
4. to provide social help.
5. to make available employment opportunities and to encourage community and parental participation.

Many ideas behind this project were ill-formed and poorly

thought through. The idea that a brief (eight week) exposure to pre-school education could remedy any ill-effects of continuous deprivation was nonsensical. The early years are especially important but, if any experience at this age is to have permanent effects, it must be consequently reinforced and built upon. No attempt was made to analyse what would be most beneficial to these deprived children and consequently they were offered a programme built on the lines of a traditional nursery school.

Initial evaluations made by the Westinghouse Learning Corporation (1969) were in terms of I.Q. gains - a limited criterion for a programme with such broad objectives. It is also difficult to measure accurately the I.Q. of young children for many reasons, such as language (Donaldson, 1978). That these programmes showed no widespread or lasting effects upon children's intelligence led to an initial conclusion that the project was a failure as a form of special educational treatment.

A number of smaller scale pre-school intervention projects were set up following a more planned structure than Headstart. Evaluation, reviewed by Bronfenbrenner (1974) showed that structured programmes with a focussed emphasis on language development had the best results. Gahagan and Gahagan (1970) have also shown in England that a language programme during the first two years of primary school produces significant increase in children's

use of language. But to offer these programmes to pre-school children only was not enough as there is a marked tendency for gains to be lost or diminish during early school years.

Consequently a programme entitled "Follow Through" was initiated in 1968 to try to extend into the primary school what had been started in the pre-school compensatory programmes. Hoke (1969) points out that, whereas "Headstart" operated in a receptive and flexible context, "Follow Through" had to deal with the traditional barriers present in the primary school that resisted and hindered change. For example, parental involvement in education may cause conflict between parents and school in certain issues; it is easier to talk about co-operation between school and other agencies than to bring it about. Teachers also do not always accept willingly that a change of approach by them might be desirable. Over the years, however, these programmes have become more systematic and better planned. Later evaluations are showing that success has been in helping to open up training and educational opportunities for men and women without academic qualifications and has created a wave of enthusiasm and an awakening of conscience which has led to better thought out and more useful programmes for social action.

The relative lack of success of compensatory programmes based predominantly in the school led to a

greater emphasis on intervention, focussing on the home and parental involvement.

'HOME-BASED INTERVENTION'

The third strategy of compensatory education included parents as the main agents of intervention. Home-based programmes adopted three basic approaches:

1. home contact complementing a school programme, liaison being maintained by a home visitor;
2. the focus more on the family with the aim to develop mother-child understanding, communication and activities;
3. a series of weekly training sessions with mothers (no children), involving them in discussions about child rearing and its problems.

Results from these home interventions were more encouraging with benefits extending to younger children, which was not the case with projects focussed on children in school.

'THE HEBER PROJECT'

The fourth strategy was an attempt to change all aspects of the environment that were thought to be inhibiting children's progress at school. An experiment was conducted by Heber (1971) aimed at changing all aspects of the child's environment from infancy to age six. Intensive work was done with mothers (some fathers) and children. The children were a sample group of 40 negro

children born to mothers of I.Q. 75 and living in lowest social strata in Milwaukee.

The mothers were seen four times per week in adult education classes focussing on the 3Rs and also on child care, personal relationships and community studies. A second phase of vocational training followed where each mother was paired for six months with an employee in a Nursing Home and trained in four areas of nursing assistant, dietary aide, housekeeper and laundry - these being the best employment prospects in the district. Each mother trained at her own rate and a number went on to obtain employment.

Intervention with infants began at three months. A teacher in the home gradually took over much of the child care. Thereafter (two-eight weeks) the child went to a learning centre for five days per week. The teacher was to respond to emotional and educational needs. Up to two years the infants were looked after individually, and given a range of perceptual-motor, linguistic and cognitive experiences and encouraged to play, using toys and objects to expand activities. From age two to six years the children were taught in small groups moving from a relatively structured setting to more free environment in which each child chose for himself what he would do.

The study is not yet complete but findings indicate this intense intervention to be successful in terms of

infants' improved cognitive development. Because intervention was so extensive, it is difficult to determine the more influential features. Obviously, if intellectual development is to continue, further help must be given and adequate environmental circumstances continue to be provided once the child has started school.

Compensatory programmes in the U.S.A. have had reasonably apparent aims. Broad cognitive and affective objectives have been accepted by most initiators in order to improve school achievement and mastery of basic skills. Those objectives include fostering of reading skills, language development, changing of attitudes and improvement of self-image. Many programmes aimed at involving parents and giving them a better understanding of child development and making entry to school more meaningful for certain children.

Criticism of these broad aims has been expressed by Smiley (1967) and Wilkerson (1970). Smiley considers that attention must be given to the formulation, analysis and evaluation of the specific educational objectives of compensatory programmes. Wilkerson concludes from his study that a clear rationale has not emerged as a guide for many of the programmes which are often stimulated only by the urge to initiate action, regardless of its value.

Many of the programmes have been inadequate because too little was done; it was done for too short a time,

and sometimes the wrong thing was done. Nevertheless, those programmes which had worthwhile effects on intellectual development and achievement have given rise to findings which enabled better programmes to be developed.

Because of the importance of home influences, effective help for disadvantaged children must involve improvement in the quality of parent/child interaction, family life and living conditions. Help must be given early, not only because the early years are critical, but because the earlier disadvantage can be remedied, the fewer the handicaps to be overcome. If benefits are to persist into later childhood, it is obvious remedial approaches must continue into the school years.

BRITAIN

In Britain, the problems of educational handicaps associated with culturally deprived families have received a great deal of study and research. In 1963 the Newsom Committee and, in 1967, the Plowden Committee focussed attention on the more seriously deprived children who are the main target group for compensation in this country. The Newsom enquiry included in its sample a group of schools specially selected for the known difficulties of their social and physical environment, and the report comments on the severity of the problems of these schools, particularly over educational retardation, ill-health and

discipline.

The Plowden Report discussed in detail the educational needs of primary school children in deprived areas and proposed a nationwide scheme for helping schools in neighbourhoods where children were most severely affected by a combination of social and educational handicaps. It recommended that schools in grossly deprived areas - to be termed Educational Priority Areas - should be given special help so that they could supply a compensating educational environment:

We ask for 'positive discrimination' in favour of such schools and the children in them, going well beyond an attempt to equalise resources. Schools in deprived areas should be given priority in many respects

and

.... the homes and neighbourhoods from which many of their children come provide little support and stimulus for learning. The schools must supply a compensating environment.

Local authorities were to adopt a policy of positive discrimination in favour of such schools. The criteria used in the selection of EPAs was characterised by a high incidence of poverty, large families, poor housing conditions, absenteeism and truancy from school and broken homes. That there is a strong relationship between poor educational performance and material deprivation is borne out by a number of investigations (Wiseman, 1968; Wedge and Prosser, 1973). It must be stressed, however, that it is not only material deprivation that affects school

progress. Wiseman emphasises that, of the home influences making an impact on educational performance, factors of maternal care and of parental attitude to education are also of great importance. There are certainly homes with relatively low incomes which are conducive to children making good scholastic progress and better-off parents who are unhelpful to their children. A considerable number of children, while not materially deprived in any way, can be described as culturally deprived in that they lack adequate stimulation at home and are given little support for their efforts in school.

ACTION/RESEARCH PROJECTS FOLLOWING THE PLOWDEN REPORT

Projects set up in Britain following the recommendations of the Plowden Committee were entitled action research. Action research is more than the passive data-gathering role attributed to research. It involves studying the way the social environment affects children's educational performance and also entails introducing changes into the environment and evaluating the effects. It can be identified in three stages:

1. assess the characteristics of social deprivation and its effects on educability.
2. design and develop intervention strategies - curricula, teaching methods, parental involvement, etc.
3. evaluate effects of such intervention or strategies on children.

SCHOOLS COUNCIL PROJECT

A Research and Development Project in Compensatory Education was carried out 1967-72, based in the University College of Swansea (Chazan and Williams, 1978). Three major aims were formulated:

1. to provide screening techniques to enable children in need of compensatory education to be identified at an early age.
2. to make longitudinal studies of infant school children in deprived areas with particular reference to their emotional development and response to schooling.
3. to develop teaching programmes involving materials in a variety of media which may be used to help culturally deprived children at the infant school stage.

The project was not concerned to discover the social factors which may be contributing to the apparent failure of some children. Rather a child-centred approach, putting the emphasis on the needs of the individual child was adopted. It was stressed that there is no clear-cut category of child who can be labelled as deprived or disadvantaged. The work of the project showed that many children in deprived areas enter school reasonably or even well-equipped to cope with school demands and that a number of children not considered to be deprived perform as badly as the very deprived school entrants. (See Ferguson et al., 1971 for discussion of an area/school approach v individual children.) This emphasis on the individual

needs of children, rather than on the concept of priority areas is one of the major points of the project. The work of the project indicated the great differences that exist among the children entering infant school - differences of preparation, of attitude, home support, behaviour, language skills and of thinking processes. The project concluded that provision of educational aids is one way of helping infant teachers to cope with the needs of a large number of very different children at a vulnerable stage of growth. But they also ask for provision of specialists to carry out some of their suggested tasks. These include conducting the screening of the needs of children entering school, helping with language development skills through language programmes, liaising with parents over support and preparation that children need, helping schools, parents and children over management of behaviour problems arising at this stage and so far relatively neglected. Secondary schools provide counsellors, remedial teachers and specialist services for the needs of the adolescent and the project feels a case for similar resources could be made for the infant school.

EDUCATIONAL PRIORITY AREAS

The most important project to be undertaken after the recommendations of the Plowden Report was that co-ordinated by Halsey (1972). He was responsible for carrying out and evaluating a research/action programme

with four objectives:

1. to raise the educational performance of the children.
2. to improve the morale of teachers.
3. to increase the involvement of parents in their children's education.
4. to increase the 'sense of responsibility' for their communities of the people living in them.

As with "Headstart", the evaluations were much more restricted than the objectives, being confined to intelligence and language.

The project was jointly sponsored by the Department of Education and Science and the Social Science Research Council and based in four locations in England and one in Scotland. These localities were all designated EPA as defined by Plowden criteria. The project was centrally co-ordinated, but permitted considerable flexibility for the teams in each area to select their own approach to pre-school intervention. Results from each of the five areas have been reported separately. They support the view that pre-school intervention benefits children's cognitive development but gains were small. Halsey also claimed that gains following pre-school programmes can be maintained into the primary school.

The EPA studies, however, did give opportunity for educational innovation during the period 1968-71 and community involvement in schools did occur. There were some new developments which seemed to increase teacher

morale and parental involvement which could be beneficial for children's educational performance. One innovation of interest was the West Riding Home Visiting programme in which the educational visitor plays a comparable role to the health visitor, instead helping parents with their child's cognitive growth and language development.

Halsey recommends the retention and extension of the concept of social priority areas as the locus for policies of positive discrimination. Despite evidence from various projects, he sees pre-schooling as the major point of entry for the development of community schooling.

The overall conclusion from the EPA programmes was that major social change will not be brought about through educational input alone. This endorses the point made by Little and Smith (1971):

To simplify the development of compensatory education, the movement began with what appeared to be a simple educational problem - the fact that certain social groups on average had a lower level of educational performance. Attempts to solve that problem have been forced to go further and further outside the educational system as the ramifications of the initial problem are uncovered. In this process the most basic questions are raised about the nature of social organisation and in particular the reasons why the lower social status should be associated with lower educational performance. These developments indicate that a purely educational response to the initial problem is unlikely to be successful.

'POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION' IN SCOTLAND 1974-1979

In 1974 the Education Committee in Edinburgh commissioned a research project on educational needs of

young children from socially deprived areas of Edinburgh. A report was completed by Stephen (1976). In the same year a local Government Research Unit published a working paper, "Plus or Minus - Problems affecting implementation of 'positive discrimination' within schools in Strathclyde Region" (McKechin, 1976). Recommendations for schools from both these reports are similar to those of the Plowden Committee:

1. to improve teacher/pupil ratio, especially with more experienced teachers.
2. to provide more auxiliary help to teachers, especially in infant classes.
3. to give priority to replacement or improvement of school buildings and surroundings.
4. to supply extra books and equipment.
5. to expand nursery provision.

In Scotland, the school was the basic target for positive discrimination. Supposedly the school is chosen for bringing change for three practical reasons - performance, contact and cost. In the main, children in some schools are performing less well academically and in measurable terms than other children of similar ability in different schools. Testing and measuring children's performance is a feature of the school system and so it is accepted that improved performance will come to children (not performing to predicted ability) through more schooling. Secondly, contact with all school age

children is made by the educational service, giving access to other services. The school becomes the funnel into other areas of the community, as is recognised by the community school advocates. Thirdly, education/schooling is less costly in terms of time and money, compared with the cost of urban renewal in inner city areas.

The school is to be a potent force for change, yet some programmes set up to do this ignore what actually happens in the school. For example, overall, the EPA projects support community schools, pre-schooling and residential schools yet offer no comment on the state of the existing schools as regards organisation, teacher deployment, style of teaching or curriculum. It was a necessary step to build the teaching force and provide more equipment, but that the force continues to be used in a conventional way must be examined.

CIRCULAR 991

In 1977 the Scottish Education Department introduced Circular 991. £3m was funded for three years into the five central regions of Scotland. It was to provide 500 more teachers in these regions - an expansion of the teaching force that can only be introduced in times of a surplus of teachers.

Teachers were to be distributed to certain schools "in the light of knowledge of the schools" and the level

of need was to be indicated by the Divisional Education Officer.

The aims of Circular 991 were:

1. to promote small group and co-operative teaching.
2. to use experienced teachers as tutors for curriculum development and teacher training.
3. to increase the number of teachers in early years.
4. to promote organisational change in the schools to enable more primary/secondary liaison.
5. to promote home-school links and extra-curricular activities.

In 1978 the Scottish Education Department requested research to investigate certain consequences of the appointment of these additional teachers. The research team (established at Hamilton College) was given three tasks:

1. to establish the ways in which the additional 'teacher-time' was being used and more specifically the extent to which the activities envisaged in Circular 991 have come about.
2. to identify the policy criteria decision making processes and management strategies relating to the Circular 991 appointments at Regional and Divisional level.
3. to establish if possible through this investigation a rationale of deprivation of children in some urban schools.

A final report is due in April 1980. Preliminary analysis of the data, however, indicates that the nature and effectiveness of the Circular 991 intervention is significantly affected by a number of limiting factors in the already existing educational provision in the area. Mr. Scaife - principal researcher for the project - has commented:

Circular 991 was implemented in a hurry (as a means to employ more teachers?), with little time given for thought about how children's education in certain schools might best be improved. The school defined educational disadvantage as a lack of basic skills, especially language, and so many teachers were employed as remedial teachers for small group teaching. On occasions, then, continuity of group work was interrupted when permanent staff were absent (a common feature of these schools) and these extra teachers were asked to teach a class. To a great extent pre-existing provision dictated what happened in each school. If remedial provision already existed then something different could be attempted. Money was funded directly to each school. This, of course, is based on the assumption that every Head teacher knows best what to do with extra money. On the whole Head teachers used funds to maintain the usual life of the school. Rather than set up projects or encourage good practice in his school, the Head used the extra teacher to create smaller classes. Maybe this was a necessary move in some cases, but smaller class size does not change teachers' methods, style of teaching or thoughts on the problem. The schools considered to be most effective were those where children were already being helped. Enrichment programmes set up in some schools were thought to be more successful than the traditional remedial programmes.

All the educational authorities concerned employed staff tutors, curriculum development teams, and advisory teachers, but the majority of 500 teachers were employed as teachers in the schools and have been absorbed already

into the existing teaching force.

STRATHCLYDE EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION

The Strathclyde Experiment in Education (Wilkinson, 1977) is an action-research project based in Glasgow. It was established in 1976 by the Strathclyde Regional Council and the University of Glasgow. The 'Govan Project' as it is known, was a three year educational initiative to tackle some of the problems affecting children and adults living in a small deprived community known as Moorpark in Govan.

It was intended as a short term intensive project that would inject energy and enthusiasm into the community. At the same time, a search was made for a change in attitudes within the schools that served that community. The experiment was based on the concept of educational integration, embracing the informal experiences in the family and neighbourhood and the formal experiences in school. The aims of the project were:

1. to improve the education of the children in Moorpark by working with all the significant adults in the children's environment.
2. to clarify those procedures which turn educational theory into good practice.

In order to act, four assumptions were made by the project leader and team:

1. Education is more than schooling and in operation throughout the working day. Therefore both in school



and out of school strategies have to be employed. Education, unlike school, does not stop in the evenings, weekends or holidays.

2. Parents do have a concern about their children's education, but this concern is not always channelled in a positive direction. Communication is a key issue.
3. There is an artificial separation between the ethos of school and social reality outside school. Educational resources need to be made more accessible for use by all the community, not just those of school age, during school hours.
4. It would be possible to find a group of local people willing to give up time and effort to support educationally based activities.

An effort is necessary here by the professionals to find such people, for it is these people in the community who must carry on when the project as such comes to an end and the professional developers move on.

The problem was approached through three methods. The project attempted to:

1. establish educational activities for both adults and children outside school that had a close relationship with the aims of early schooling. This was done through group work with parents, help and advice to individual families in matters concerning the schooling of young children and the provision of resources

in the community.

2. set in motion an intensive programme of school based in-service training for every teacher in the two primary schools which Moorpark children attended.
3. involve other professionals to a greater extent in the educational process.

Project director, Eric Wilkinson (1978), reports evidence of success, especially regarding various agenda outside the school. For instance 60% of the people have responded to the work of the project in area of language and literacy. The community library, based in a three-roomed house in the Moorpark scheme, has been a feature of the work. The fact that 60% of local residents are now members of the library and borrow over 300 books per week are positive outcomes to the project's way of thinking. Of course, the borrowing of books cannot automatically be equated with a change in attitude towards literature or book learning.

A claim made for another small group of locals is their bettered life style through their energetic organisation of and participation in educational activities. This has been achieved through creative community development activities, based on local training courses for parents such as the Neighbourhood Education scheme, pre-school courses etc. and novel group work such as family workshops, readers' clubs etc. These activities, though

originally established by the project team (Neighbourhood Tutor, Pre-school Worker) are now giving way to local initiatives as parents develop their own skills and confidence. Parents are reported to be more aware in matters concerned with schooling, especially in the early stages.

Innovations in the curriculum in language and art have been made in the schools. Extensive support from Hamilton College has provided school based in-service work, and is considered successful in one of the two primary schools. Active involvement of the local primary schools in the activities outside the school has proven more difficult than envisaged initially by the project team. Teachers are reported as remaining resistant, hostile and disillusioned. This would appear to be in keeping with the known inflexible traditional approach, inherent in so many teachers' personalities. The project will need to initiate a more radical approach in the school if it is to make a more significant educational impact.

Future policy implications indicate a continuation of the initiative in Moorpark such as local educational workers, community control and home visiting. But, added to this, must be a consideration of the broader issues, such as growth of ideas, teacher re-education, adaptability of primary schools and, of course, the involvement of local people.

LOTHIAN PRE-SCHOOL HOME VISITING SERVICE

Another major project in Scotland is the Lothian Home Visiting Service. This service began in 1975 with one home visitor and to date has expanded to 16. The project is an attempt to identify and help individual children within the family situation, considered to be at risk. The overall aim of the project is to emphasise the unique contribution of the parents to the educational development of their children during the period before formal schooling began.

Home visiting teachers (all trained/experienced teachers), based in a primary or nursery school, visit selected parents of children (two to three years) and by working directly with the children in the first instance, involve the parent. Through weekly visits, the visitor aims:

1. to encourage the parent (usually mother) in her role as agent for intervention in educational development of her child.
2. to establish activity which is cognitively oriented and in which language is used to stimulate and extend the child's imagination.
3. to foster parental involvement in relation to the child and community as seems most appropriate according to local conditions.
4. to encourage some parents to assume a visiting role to other families.

The Home Visitor relies on co-operation of Health Visitors, community education staff, social workers, school staff and other interested agencies. Overall responsibility for the visitor is with the Head teacher.

The project began with a focus on cognitive development and, as a result of the Home Visitors' experiences, came to see the goal of community development as central to the achievement of its cognitive and educational objectives.

This type of provision might well be seen as a means of fitting child and parent to the existing educational system, rather than encouraging the child/family/community to challenge what in fact is being offered. A study of the Educational Home Visiting Service has been reported by Raven (1979) with no substantial conclusions to questions such as:

What are the effects of alternative styles of caretaker/child interaction?

What are the effects of the different styles of interaction which are more common among mothers from certain socio-economic status groups than others?

What are the effects of a "teacherish" style of interaction, and how does this differ from more facilitative "mothering" styles of interaction?

Other areas in Britain are experimenting with home visiting (Leicester, London, Renfrew) and are considered

successful, not only in significant gains in their own right, but in that half the mothers participating in such programmes afterwards decided to enrol their children in pre-school establishments.

Home programmes would appear to be a necessary element in any comprehensive strategy of pre-school education. Obviously, however, the number of parents/children that can be contacted by such a small body of visitors will not produce any extensive results even within a single community.

CONCLUSION

The question that arises for education is, how does a programme of positive discrimination help all deprived pupils? On Plowden's recommendation, areas were identified; with the SED the school was the target, with the Govan Project it was a small community and, with the Home Visitor, individual families are identified. The distribution of children in need, however, does not fall neatly into an area, a school or a community. Possibly there will be more children disadvantaged outwith the target than in it.

Barnes (1975) concluded that:

It seems likely that the majority of disadvantaged children are not in disadvantaged areas, and the majority of children in disadvantaged areas are not disadvantaged.

His conclusion was based on data from a survey of reading

performance of all eight year old children in London, and again three years later, plus information from the ILEA deprivation index.

The hope is, of course, that individuals will gain some benefit from the area/school based thinking. What happens, however, is that the difficulties of the school and appropriate programmes for that school are considered, rather than individual cases.

Reviewing the past 15 years leads to some tentative recommendations for education. Policy for schools in the future must be geared more to the activity which goes on inside the school. Resources are given to improve the building, but not its internal organisation. More teachers are put into the schools, but the tendency is to use them to give more of the same, rather than experimenting with their use.

Education has greater direct control over the environment of the school than over the home, so we must identify and emphasise ways in which schools can be modified to provide better service for the children concerned. Positive discrimination for most authorities has meant more teachers - so it is the teacher who will bring about the change. Schools have failed to adopt teaching methods and educational goals relevant to children's experience, yet maybe the greatest changes can only be made in the schools when teachers develop goals

and methods which children accept. Many people involved in education think more of the same rather than question could or should it be different.

Existing good practice can be identified in some schools, but we need to know and agree on the ingredients of success and the predictors of failure if schools are to be encouraged to help themselves. Evaluation of what is possible for schools to achieve has to be made. A school itself will not create an equal society, or compensate for disadvantages of living in a decaying inner-city area, but for an individual, a school might be a forceful factor in promoting life chances. Schools must be created as centres of excellence where parents are an integral part and teachers begin with the child's world as it is. It was from ideas such as this that the Plowden Committee discussed the concept of community education, and the development of this is outlined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF
COMMUNITY EDUCATION

The concept of compensatory education was heavily criticised in the early 1970s on the following grounds:

1. Compensatory education has not achieved its aims and therefore is a lost cause (Cicirelli, Granger et al., 1969; Eysenck, 1969).
2. Compensatory programmes have tried to change the unchangeable; as genetic factors are more important than environmental factors in producing differences in measured intelligence, the premises on which compensatory education efforts have been based should be re-examined (Jensen, 1969; Burt, 1969; Eysenck, 1969).
3. Identifying and labelling children as deprived or disadvantaged is wrong and not helpful (Passow, 1967; Williams, 1973)
4. Too much emphasis has been placed (in compensatory education) on the significance of early years of a child's life in shaping later development (Elkind, 1969; Bernstein, 1970).
5. The school and education system - not the children and parents - should be the target of change; the concept 'compensatory education' distracts attention from the deficiencies of school itself and focuses

upon deficiencies within community, family and child (Wilkerson, 1970; Bernstein, 1970).

While consideration of these criticisms was merited, there is no doubt the development of the concept of compensatory education led to a focussing of attention on the problems of disadvantaged children. Compensatory education also led to further thinking about content of school curricula and teaching methods. Rather than a naive expectation that hastily planned compensatory programmes would bring substantial change in a short period, a longer term concept of community education was being sought.

The hope of the 60s was that the schools would be the spearhead of policies of social justice; first comprehensive, then compensatory, and then a leaning to community or continual education in order to rid society of inequality. Social engineering was seen to be possible through education. The Plowden Report (1967) gave rise to the viewpoint of compensatory measures being provided for culturally deprived children - their deficiencies, or what was seen as their deficiencies in an educational setting, were highlighted as characteristic of children in urban schools. Yet, even in the Plowden Report, there are signs of loss of confidence in the potential of education to affect the problems of social injustice:

Improved education cannot solve the problem of these children. Simultaneous action is needed by the authorities responsible for employment, industrial training, housing and planning.

The Report also provided, however, the basis from which a more radical concept of community education evolved.

The urban environment was seen to be a legitimate source of an education which is social rather than academic; through it children will become aware of the possibilities and problems of the community and be instigators of social change. Halsey's (1972) term 'constructive discontent' sums up the aims of such an education.

Alongside this radical view was the more moderate stand in which community schools serve the neighbourhood by making facilities available outside school hours and are focal points for community activity. But the problem arises here of identifying a community for the school to serve. How are procedures different from education in other areas? Will education be so circumscribed that it will disadvantage children rather than equip them to become agents of social change?

Linked to the issues of equality and what counts as relevant education are the alternative-to-school viewpoints put forward by various deschoolers (Illich, 1971; Freire, 1971) and the alternative high schools that have emerged in the U.S.A., e.g. the Parkway Program in Philadelphia and the Metro High School in Chicago.

Education is in the community where the environment is a huge resource for learning, to be tapped by students.

The Plowden conception of positive discrimination as applied to education in the inner city was interpreted in two broad ways: in terms of education being a compensatory experience, or in terms of what Midwinter (1972) sees as an alternative and more positive response, the concept of community education. The two ideas are seen to be conceptually different, beginning from different premises as to the educability of the child and different in their perception of the inner city milieu. The question arises, however, as to whether the community education view really is conceptually different or is a different expression of the compensatory view. Might it be the case that the community education view represents a subjective rejection of the compensatory view, distinguished by claiming an affirmative as opposed to a negative notion of the child as a learner in school?

The EPA Project (which resulted from the Plowden Report) was co-ordinated by A.H. Halsey who located the central aim of the project as:

looking for ways in which an input of resources has a multiplier effect releasing energies of educational value in the communities in which the impact is made. (Halsey, 1972)

He saw the project as focussing on the community school and the promotion of community action. The community

school was seen as the major alternative to compensatory education. Community development, however, did not come from the community itself but was imposed by reformers concerned with the regeneration of inner city neighbourhoods. If a neighbourhood is to be transformed by creating more and varied job opportunities, improving quality of housing, recreational facilities, social services and schooling, then, on the face of it, outside forces in the form of change agents will be needed. But there is a danger that a superficial view of change will be accepted. For example, the Plowden Committee assumed that, if physical conditions in schools were improved, then attitudes towards school would change also. This leaves the position of the recipients, for there is no necessary connection between changing physical conditions and changing attitudes. The need for change is something that is perceived from within a community; change itself will in turn be initiated and controlled from within.

The concept of community education although not new is difficult to define. Community has many definitions and Midwinter (1973) claims that people today often view themselves as a member of one or more communities. Education also has a multitude of definitions, but its existence in the school scene is accepted. Often a gap exists between school and the community it serves but this is a function of a changing community. Community

in the context of community education refers to the catchment area of the school. It is the neighbourhood over which the school is to have an educational influence and provide the school with pupils.

Most discussion regarding community schooling in Britain arose from the concern expressed by the Plowden Committee about plant usage. A school whose facilities may be used by local residents for recreation or practical subjects is seen by educationists as all important. More efficient use of the school than the usual five hour/five day week/40 week year can come about by offering the local community the premises and involving them in its usage. Parental concern was another notion following Plowden and teachers attempted to invite parents into school to 'view' the life therein. An 'open' school approach rather than the often 'closed' was seen as desirable. But, although home/school relations were acceptable, little thought was given to the deployment of parents in order to make the child's education more efficient.

These two ideas were a simplistic attempt at community education. But questions arose of how to blur lines to make the community school more 'welcoming towards' and more 'venturing into' the community. That the community should be more involved in the school was a first step, readily accepted. But, moving the school more into the community is a far greater challenge.

Midwinter (1973) claims that educational systems aim at preparation for survival and the transmitted knowledge consists of a mixture of vocational and conformist aspects and is often provided by the dominant class. Community development, in which community education plays an important part, was seen as an alternative to the growing decay of much urban life. Community education is an attempt to establish an educational service relevant to the health of the community. Much of the educational system is alienated from society and it is on diagnosis of the symptoms of such alienation that community education is prescribed.

Midwinter sees community education as only viable within a context of associated reappraisals of housing, welfare, social amenities, employment etc. What power does a school have in the face of structural inequality? If deprivation is to be taken seriously, a fundamental attack needs to be launched from all government departments. A systematic policy towards security of income, housing and employment is required, a policy not imposed from above but developed in consultation with the people affected. Midwinter goes on to say community education is interactive and not a causal process. You cannot await the arrival of a regenerated community before moving on to education. Community education must aim to improve the area's way of living through the schools.

The ideal and vision of the community school was to bring with it the rebirth of community life in Britain with community education playing a significant part in this renewing pattern of community development. But also the reality of the education system and its social context had to be accepted.

Midwinter (1973) argues the community school to be an 'actual school' - a spontaneous organism growing from and for its community. But this is not what ensued. Local education authorities have created community schools and community education and imposed them on the community; the message being - with our help you will rejuvenate yourselves and your community. Midwinter lists four principles as basic for any community school:

1. a community school is by nature a neighbourhood school, local clientele neighbourhood varying in size and quality - a fluid interactive module.
2. a community school is comprehensive - as in primary schools and this must be more than (as in secondary schools) description. Withdrawal (e.g. special, remedial, child care, truancy) should be avoided and problems met within everyday community context including social workers.
3. a community school denies segregation.
4. a community school is an agency with social rather than academic learning.

Social or community-oriented education is more manageable in the primary school in spite of the need in the secondary school. The traditional hierarchy and examination pressures still prevent secondary schools from adopting the inter-disciplinary and heuristic approach of the primary school. Primary schools can play a prominent part in the community education movement and alternately point to some of the defects of the enormous secondary school.

Midwinter's (1973) main contention is that the social environment would be the curriculum focus. A community school would necessarily have a community orientated curriculum and this curriculum would be social rather than academic. But it is not clear in what way the content of the social differs from that of the academic curriculum. Midwinter's ideas of:

1. the drawing of resources for learning and especially for language work from the children's experience of their environment;
2. more time given over to creative work;
3. concentration on skills rather than information;
4. change in school climate, teaching attitude and approaches to bring them into line with social orientation of the curriculum,

certainly seem in keeping with the aims of good primary education.

A central aspect of community education concerns parents - how is their role perceived and how are they to be involved? It would seem that the form and quality of parental involvement is a major focus within the community-based curriculum, yet still has not evolved to any great degree. That parents were involved in the EPA project is clearly notable in Liverpool and Deptford, yet again parents and children were in the role of recipient - receiving an educational programme - as is the case in compensatory programmes. Can community, then, be substituted for compensatory with the view being one of cultural deprivation?

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

In 1969 the Home Office launched a centrally guided area based urban priority scheme called the Community Development Project. It was described as a modest attempt at action research into the better understanding and more comprehensive tackling of social needs especially in the local communities within the older urban areas. This "experimental programme" was initiated on the assumption that problems of urban deprivation had their origins in the characteristics of local populations and that these could best be resolved by a better co-ordination of the social services combined with a greater measure of self help and mutual aid in the local population.

Community Development projects were placed in cities and in small towns which seemed on the basis of various

social indicators to have concentrated pockets of multi-deprivation. Central to the strategies to be developed in these projects was the assumption that resources and efforts should be concentrated on certain key areas of concern rather than attempting any form of comprehensive attack.

A fundamental feature of the project was the effort to combine action research and evaluation. The project involved 12 areas and, at the beginning, the concern was individual and family breakdown but, by 1974, the emphasis shifted to 'urban decline and inequality' seen in terms of social structure rather than individual opportunity.

Education was seen as one of the key areas in a number of the 12 Community Development projects. In particular:

1. conventional educational development - improving and extending existing facilities, development of pre-school education and the provision of more teaching resources.
2. community education - developing home/school links, ensuring curriculum relevance to inner city areas and developing 'constructive discontent' (Halsey).
3. work outside school - providing informal adult education, problems of work and employment.

One project, located in Hillfields, Coventry, is reported by Bennington (1975) and was characterised by

three phases. The first involved interpretation of the problem of urban disadvantage contained in the government's discussion as either the product of the personal characteristics of local residents or of administrative malfunctions of local government. It was soon apparent that the real problems were housing conditions, the impact of redevelopment and low income.

The second phase was an attempt to analyse and attempt to modify those processes within government agencies which sustain and reinforce disadvantage at the local level.

The community education programme and the school-life to work-life programmes undertaken were especially relevant. Education was not to be a scarce commodity, closely guarded and rationed to a select few, but part of the resources of every community available, drawing from each and contributing to all. The project contributed to pressure for an increase in resources directed towards schools in the area though it did not affect any substantial educational policy at the city level. The stand taken in the report (on Hillfields) is to doubt that education can do much for the inequalities which govern the life-chances and opportunities of children from areas like Hillfields.

An indication of the schools' contribution is given, based on the second programme:

Schools appeared to be organised and run not so much in order to equip young people to deal with the realities of adult life and employment but upon assumptions which rejected these realities.

In both schools studied, the belief was that the world of work was nasty, high wages were paid in return for the soul of an individual; salvation lay through schooling. Many of the teachers made the assumption that most of the pupils came from unsatisfactory homes and that the school had therefore a duty to provide alternative experiences to make up for this. Systems of linking home and school were unimaginative and adequate in keeping parents away from schools except at a time of crisis. As a result, pupils were not ready for work, untutored in how to organise their life to pursue their own long term interests and unable to evaluate their own position within an organisation. The report suggests teachers should explore how the school helps an individual grow towards his adulthood rather than acquiring knowledge which is largely redundant and only tenuously linked to the growth in understanding of men and their society. Schools can so easily reinforce the prevailing opportunity structure rather than produce pupils able to develop their own potential.

The priority of the existing economic structure became the guiding principle of the third phase 'towards a political economy of Hillfields'. The analysis presented is that areas such as Hillfields provide the source of

unskilled labour - readily recruited in times of growth and readily discarded in times of recession. Hillfields persists because the economy of Coventry requires it remains: policies of positive discrimination are seen as bound to fail as they do not touch the distribution of power within society. The report recommends that future policy be within a framework allowing for:

1. Political intervention to claim new areas of public control (as opposed to adjustments within existing technical procedures).
2. Political initiative coming from the local level and aiming to create alliances between the neighbourhood, the factory floor and political parties.
3. Government action based less on redistribution of welfare goods and services than on the extension of citizens' rights and economic opportunities through the externality effects of its own operations as a political and economic institution.

The Community Development Programme's contribution has been most noteworthy in its 'work outside school'. However, evaluation of the work has been made difficult mainly by the lack of co-ordination between action and research groups at the local level and the substantial alterations to goals and objectives as local groups come into contact with the realities of the situation.

Midwinter (1973) concludes that perhaps community development, including its important component, community

education, is the only opportunity of breaking across the vicious circle of urban decay and deprivation. Halsey (1972) wants to encourage "children to be eager apprentices for community life". Halsey looks to provide society with men and women who are decent neighbours, interested citizens, critical consumers, articulate workers and kindly parents. He measures success from the manner in which children blend with the community and improve the quality of life in the community.

The school itself must come to be regarded as an important community resource, with the community and its needs forming an essential part of the curriculum. Forms of organisation required for life-long learning must be made as flexible as possible. Obstacles to adults joining in school classes and to community use of schools generally must be broken down. As well as making accommodation more available to the whole community, the various agencies are required to come together making joint provision for people of all ages. The new community schools endeavour to alter the pattern of participation. But structural overhaul is not the underlying prerequisite. What is needed is an enormous shift in attitudes on the part of both consumers and providers, if people in the community are to benefit.

Whatever the complaints of schools' structure, there is scope for change. Not maybe a costly radical change to community education, but a change of attitude - a

critical factor as any other. A Head teacher, for example, with staff support could do much to engineer reform by spending requisition differently, altering the curriculum, by modifying relationships in and around the school and by reappraising generally the aims and objectives of the school.

Community education appears to repudiate the compensatory view by asserting that children in the city need to be sensitised to the conditions of their environment so that by education they will make articulate and effective attempts to bring about change. But for them to be able to achieve this, they will need many of the traditional skills of the educational mainstream. A community notion of education must not only incorporate but emphasise much of the current content of what is described as mainstream education.

In conclusion, then, the community education concept does not differ from compensatory education either in content or shorter-term aims. So far as longer-term aims there is no necessary follow on that children will develop a critical concern for their neighbourhood through having experienced a community-located and community-focussed education. Again the context can be established but this will not in itself lead to the development of particular perspectives, unless these become the subject matter of indoctrination rather than

education. From this, the context of debate about community education, particularly in its more radical stance, moves outside education and into a conflation of the educational and the social. Is it a situation where committed reformers - social, educational or political - seek to impose their pattern of change on areas where there is little potential for change, in the sense of an awareness of need and a desire to act?

The community education concept cannot be separated from compensatory education. However, at the same time, there is much in the community notion that is educationally positive and which suggests that it has more educational potential than the compensatory viewpoint.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters, issues relating to the origin of the concept of the culturally deprived, the appropriateness and consequences of the programmes related to compensatory education and the growth of community education have been raised.

The most common use of the concept of cultural deprivation was to explain the failure in school of children of various social class groups. Researchers in the 1950s and 60s endeavoured to measure in an objective way attributes of the child, in order to gain data as to his I.Q., social adjustment, achievement, motivation etc., for it was the combination of these variables and the child's home environment that were considered to be an explanation of why children in poorer circumstances failed to do well in school. In these years the focus was on the child and parent rather than the school, the teacher or the educational environment. Little emphasis was put on teacher/pupil interaction, teacher expectation, assessment or the whole school ethos. Bernstein (1970) was critical of the concept of educational compensation because he says it directs attention away from the problems of the educational system while at the same time ascribing faults to the disadvantaged child and his family and because it

assumes the defects in the child can be compensated for by education.

Ginsburg (1972) also criticises compensatory education as being based on a set of interlocking assumptions concerning the environment and its effect on the poor child. To review these briefly:

1. the poor child's environment is inadequate.
2. environment is the major determinant of the child's intellectual growth.
3. as a result of environment and its power to shape human behaviour, the poor child develops deficient intellectual processes.
4. schooling should be designed to remove and correct intellectual deficits.
5. early remedial training can have long term effects on the child's education.

Thus, says Ginsburg, compensatory education fails as it is based on wrong assumptions concerning the nature of environment and the lower-class child. He also claims it tends to divert attention from the real issue which is reform of the public schools.

The concept of community education developed out of the work of compensatory educators in their endeavour to provide a relevant educational experience for inner-city children.

The principle of equality of opportunity was at the roots of compensatory education but more radical change

was envisaged with community education. Halsey (1972) raises basic questions about the nature and function of education in suggesting another dimension in which providing the means of achieving equality is contrasted with stimulating a demand for equality:

Education for what? The debate over equality as we have summarised it - a movement from pre-occupation with equality of access towards concern with equality of outcomes as between social groups - is essentially a discussion about education for whom and to do what. In planning our intervention in schools we were forced sooner or later to consider both questions and in doing so to question whether an EPA programme was anything more than a new formula for fair competition in the education selection race.

Halsey sees the community school as the social nexus for a whole range of reforms (basically political) which would so change the nature of inner city areas that the quality of life and employment opportunities would improve radically. His idea of bringing about change by sensitising children and parents to what is positive and distinctive about their community raises questions as to what characterises a community and whether in fact a notion of community exists in inner city areas.

The notion of community education cannot be disengaged from that of compensatory education; the connections are complex and somewhat enshrouded in conflicting ideologies of educational provision in the inner city. But the community concept seems more educationally valid than the compensatory viewpoint.

The future outlook for further positive discrimination or compensatory education is certainly bleak. The increase in public expenditure is leading to requests for accountability of education. There has been a change in political climate since the 1960s, when money was all that was needed to enlarge and reform in order to improve. The changing birthrate is also affecting many schools and the general feeling that 'positive' schemes have not succeeded comes from the lack of positive evidence given by many evaluations. Achievement of territorial equality, even in the matter of books, equipment, school facilities and numbers of teachers in certain schools does not seem to be possible. Certain authorities do have more areas in need of aid and can only give what in fact they have. Schools who are benefiting from falling rolls, thus reducing teacher/pupil ratio, tend not to be in areas of need and so, where poorer schools were to be given smaller classes as a priority, it is not the case. Similar or even better teacher/pupil ratios are found in many schools outwith positively discriminated areas.

When contrasting the scale of deprivation with the scale of intervention, it becomes quite obvious why results have not been acclaimed wholly successful. It would be foolish to expect any big return from such a small investment. The government money being offered to the schools was mainly concerned with teachers'

salaries, building projects, providing more resources. Positive discrimination amounted to 1% of the educational budget, so proportionately could not lead to unlimited provision. Similarly, the Headstart program was on a scale too extensive for the size of intervention made to have any immediate noticeable effects. The size of allocation was not enough. A basic educational amount needs to be given for it is not the child's fault that he is in an educational context of an inefficient school. What was generated by Headstart, EPA, SED, was really quite small in comparison with what the children were already being given. Links were made with homes by community and Home Visitors etc. and extra teachers given to schools but the effect of extra additions of staff affected few children.

Halsey in "Whatever happened to positive discrimination?" (Times Educational Supplement, 21.1.77) said:

We were not to know in remote 1966 that the cost of Plowden would within a decade look no more serious than an Arab Sheik's laundry bill.... In education the position is one of extreme relative deprivation, not only because of the financial background of a sudden halt to previously mounting largesse, but also, and more seriously, because of the collapse of belief in education, either as the best investment for national production or the great distribution of chances to the traditionally disadvantaged.

In 1980, however, Congress intends to give Headstart the biggest increase in its history, raising its funds to \$735m. This is justified because many of the

pre-school programmes have been effective in the reduction of the number of students who have to repeat grades or who need education in special classes. Well planned and closely supervised pre-school programmes eventually are being claimed as successful. Headstart is also now being valued for its non-educational goals. One of these goals was community action. Many poor parents became more interested in education for themselves, acquired their own high school diplomas and became teaching assistants in the project. On the other hand, they were not very skilled teachers, which was not beneficial to the children. Another goal of Headstart was to provide these children with health care, but no studies of these gains are available. As to educational gains, these have never been measured usefully since there was no detailed evaluation of what skills the children already had when they came into Headstart programmes, nor of how they changed as a result of particular features.

The Centre for Educational Disadvantage in Manchester (concentrating on the needs of ethnic minorities and the socially disadvantaged) has been publicising information for teachers and schools for five years, but the government intends to close it by August 1980 in order to save £300,000 a year in grant aid. This indicates something of the contrasting views of the two governments involved.

Undoubtedly, the obvious way to improve education is to identify good practice and foster it, but this does not happen with many projects started as endeavours to positively discriminate. Deficiencies such as appropriate environment in the school are obvious, but why do educational goals and methods remain unchanged?

In schools, successful strategies must be identified and improved if any change is to take place. Firstly, an analysis of the problem must be identified in each school and, from this, specific objectives set up. Secondly, a programme of implementation must be carefully planned and followed through. It is often at this stage that many projects break down. Enthusiasm is crucial and possibly the most difficult thing to sustain in class teachers, promoted staff or project initiators in these schools. People set out with positive enthusiasm, ideas and even solutions, but too often fail to follow through. Goals may or may not be achieved but difficulty lies in enabling people to sustain what they give initially. Quite often having set something up they move on to new fields or promotion, but who follows on what has been started, adapting and re-adapting according to need?

On the whole there have been few attempts to take up any new projects involving teachers and schools. Schools and their main programme are not evaluated in the same searching way that even small projects are.

Schools/education are renowned for having difficulty in specifying objectives and those engaging in positive discrimination projects require even more efficient objectives in order to be evaluated. Another problem already referred to with new projects is the failure to plan after the innovator has left or moved on. This is not so in the ordinary school.

New projects have been planned in isolation from the mainstream programme. Could the reason for such planning be in order to give a project breathing space? Are authorities wary of being too close to success or failure? Success, of course, leads to more money being made available and failure brings its own consequences. If a particular head teacher or teacher is successful, he in turn represents a challenge to other staff and this has major implications for everyone. To experience any kind of success, planning must be carried right through in an optimistic way. No projects should be judged or evaluated as successful or failing while in fact they are still being established. This surely is what happened with a programme like Headstart. Some of the results of long-term studies by Lazar (1977) of Cornell University and Department of Health Education and Welfare, bring fresh evidence that some of the earliest compensating programmes for poor children have had lasting benefits - especially those that focus on the interaction between parent and child.

Undoubtedly one most important educational approach to the problem is in developing the ability of teachers to deal adequately with disadvantaged children. The teacher must aim to positively involve the child in the school system and have a facility in techniques which are apt in motivating and educating these children. The problems in motivating children towards school and school work in a positive fashion are well known. There is a vital difference between the dominant ethos of the educational system and the attitudes, ideas and skills of the disadvantaged child. This ethos is reflected not only in the school curriculum but also in the values of teachers themselves. To avoid what is seen as a culture-clash, teachers must aim to reduce the conflict and find common ground for the process of education. They need to learn more about the socialising experiences of deprived children and attempt to modify both the ideology and curriculum of the school so that it moves towards a set of values and skills which the children can appreciate. Parents, too, must be involved in such a way that their understanding of the school is enhanced and so that they adopt a more positive commitment to the school. Teachers at present receive no training in the process of forming links between home and school - a crucial point if the attitudes of many parents towards education are to be modified.

While it is true that the concept of deprivation needs careful examination and that compensatory programmes should be evaluated as rigorously as possible, such judgement overstates the case against compensatory education. Educational measures alone cannot solve problems arising from deprivation but they can help to solve those problems; and too little has been done in the way of positive discrimination, compensatory or community education in this country for any firm conclusions to be drawn about its efficacy. Halsey (1977) concludes:

Positive discrimination is about resources. The principle stands and is most urgently in need of application now that our total resources are both limited and forced to be idle.

Since the 1944 Education Act, concern by many educators and politicians has been with access to and organisation of the existing framework of education and schooling. It is obvious that many people committed to some form of educational and social change have adopted policies which concentrate on 'tinkering' with what already exists. Although community education could be developed in a radical way, community schools still have a great deal in common with 'non-community' schools. The policy of increasing 'equality of opportunity' by changing the organisational structure of education was in order to have a better educated articulate mass. The few working-class pupils who do

survive and succeed in the schools are asked or even pressurized to accept much of the cultural and political values of existing elites. More efficient schooling is often more likely to educate the working class in to accepting the present class society rather than transforming it.

Furthermore, available evidence is increasingly suggesting that present educational practices, based on educational solutions to social problems, may do more to preserve inequalities in society rather than to remove them. Keddie (1973) claims we must raise wider issues about education and ultimately about what we take to be the prevailing values in the society in which we live. In her introduction to a collection of questioning papers she argues that it is not only possible but essential that we regard 'cultural deprivation' as a myth. A myth developed to mask and support a class system to which we are all wittingly or not committed.

Keddie (1973) indicates how analysis has moved from the supposed deficiencies in the child and his environment to a consideration of the nature of education and practice in schools. Studies of what happens to pupils and the nature of the curriculum are becoming more significant. Young and Whitty (1977), however, regard many of these studies as presenting education as taking place in a social vacuum, indicating much about

'how' schools perpetuate social inequalities, and their failure to discuss 'why' this may be so helps to obscure the difficulties of change. Keddie concludes:

It might be wished that schools could become more flexible in their willingness to recognize and value the life experience that every child brings to school, and at the same time become more willing to examine and to justify what schooling could be about and what kind of life experiences children are being offered.

Concern in the future must not only be with what innovation is being implemented, but also with how it is being implemented. The innovations of compensatory and community education have been discussed and developed in this paper. The time span stretches over 20 years. We are now in the 1980s and our immediate task is still to improve the quality of education offered to those children who have their unequal share of disadvantage. This may not bring in a new society, but hopefully some individuals may increase their control over their own lives.

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